9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Indian pony gradually was replaced by larger and stronger animals resulting from the breeding of white men's work horses with the Indians' stock. 178 231

Nevertheless, the continuity of Blackfoot culture was not entirely broken by the cultural revolution that followed the disappearance of the buffalo and the abandonment of the nomadic, hunting existence. In the 1940's, six decades after the buffalo were gone, the influence of the Horse Culture Period of buffalo days survived. Survivals were noticeable in Blackfoot work habits, their concepts of wealth, their recreation, social relations, and ideals.

After the buffalo were gone the Blackfoot took readily to cattle raising but showed little interest in or aptitude for farming, which involved techniques and procedures alien to their experience. In the 1940's Agricultural Extension Agents on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana recognized that the successful Indian farmers were persons of considerable white admixture. The fullblood group showed little interest in settling on the irrigated projects to grow crops. Fullbloods still preferred to make their living by raising livestock, primarily cattle and sheep. This preference is traceable to the tribe's generations of accumulated experience in the care of horses and its lack of crop-growing traditions. 233 241 178

I have pointed out (p. 30) the survival of the concept of wealth in terms of horse ownership among the older fullbloods on this reservation, even though horses in the 1940's had relatively little monetary value. This is definitely a survival from the days when individual wealth was determined primarily in terms of horse ownership. 178 556 231

I have also (p. 234) referred to the survival of interest in horse racing, long a favorite sport among the Blackfoot. In fact their ready acceptance of the entire rodeo complex may be attributed to their background of appreciation of skill in the handling of horses. 178 541 [177]

There remains an appreciation of the value of ceremonial bundles among the Blackfoot which is out of all proportion to the function of those bundles in the religious life of these people in modern times. A number of bundle owners have neither the knowledge nor the desire to use these sacred bundles ceremonially. Yet they are reluctant to part with them, mindful of the fact that their former owners prized them as equivalent in value to many horses. The horse medicine cult, though limited in function, still holds a respected position in the religious life of the fullbloods. 178 178 [194]

Blackfoot social relations are still marked by the dependence of poor relatives upon tribal members who have achieved a degree of economic success. This drain of the "have-nots" upon the "haves" has the effect of limiting the economic progress of ambitious indi- 178 571 454

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9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

viduals, if not actually of inhibiting the desire of fullbloods of extensive family connections to achieve material success. Along with that traditional custom of sharing, the traditional ideal of generosity survives to inhibit the adaptation of the white man's ideals of budgeted expenditures and saving for a rainy day.

The intense patriotism of the Blackfoot in volunteering their services to their country in two World Wars is a survival of the traditional Blackfoot concept of the warrior ideal. During World War II, when the Blackfoot furnished a much greater proportion of their able-bodied population for military service than was required of them, one still heard fullblood parents comforted by the old adage of buffalo days, "It is better for a man to die in war than to die of old age or sickness."

Finally, there survives among the Blackfoot a genuine love of horses that is the heritage of a people whose ancestors' admiration for horses amounted to veneration.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

439 157 "They are notorious thieves; when we hear of a band coming in every piece of iron or other European article that can be carried off must be shut up."[144]

439 437 They are also described as great bargainers.

157 "I have seen one of this tribe employ ½ hour in bartering a dozen wolves and twice as many Depouilles (fat on the ribs and back) and so unreasonable as to demand a Gun, Pistol, or any other article that attracted his attention for one Skin . . ."[145]

Maximilian notes this in another connection:

"The Crows in their visits and negotiations presented the Blackfoot with valuable articles, costly feather caps, shields, horses, etc. but received nothing at all when they came to the latter, by which all the Indians are incensed against the Blackfoot. In this respect the other tribes showed much more delicacy."[146]

The unusual shrewdness of the Blackfoot in their trade with the whites, their sharp bargaining, their disregard of tradition in not giving return gifts to the Crow, and the firing of the prairie to raise the price of meat were, according to the fur traders, uniquely Blackfoot, and must be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that they were subject to a competitive fur trade which made good businessmen of them.

Religion

432 425 708 [782] This commercialism of the Blackfoot was not limited to their trading practices but became characteristic of many aspects of their institutions. This was especially apparent in the buying and selling of bundles. Religious bundles such as the Medicine Pipe bundle, Beaver bundle, and Sun Dance bundle were bought by an individual, usually in fulfillment of a vow made in time of misfortune. Although the bundle transfer was part of a religious ceremony, the interest of the buyer, the seller and the community was centered upon the property exchanges involved. To sell at a high price and to buy at a low price was a major objective in most bundle transfers. The buying of bundles was frequently a profitable investment, for the bundle owners received fees for the religious services they rendered to the [454] community. Finally, some individuals bought bundles as an investment for prestige in which wealth could be displayed.

175 425 432 708 The above picture of bundle transfers applies only to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Earlier, it appears that the number of bundle transfers was less frequent and the property exchanged much smaller. In a discussion of Blackfoot medicine bundles in 1833, Culbertson says, "they might be transferred but the owners were seldom willing to surrender the

[144] *Ibid.*, p. 544.
[145] *Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray*, p. 46.
[146] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NP6 Blackfoot NP6
Blood

scattered because of the limited food supply;[20] in summer, they "tended to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt."[21] Band endogamy was "not good form but not criminal."[22] Residence, in general, was patrilocal,[23] the young couple setting up their tipi alongside the groom's father's. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's band upon marriage.[24]

Equally significant in Blackfoot social organization were the men's societies[25] which had "certain names, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances" and which served "in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties."[26] As early as the 1830's, seven such "unions" were noted, their members usually joining the youngest and gradually rising higher through the others.[27] Entrance depended upon the payment of a fee, a medicine man and persons of distinction buying in at greater cost.[28]

These nomads, or "equestrian natives" as Cocking called them,[29] were particularly favored by circumstance. Their country was well stocked with the buffalo upon which they depended for food, shelter, and clothing; their early possession of the horse and the gun, and their comparative freedom from white pressure gave ample opportunity for effective hunting and substantial profit from an expanding fur trade. This profit was measured in horses. Not only did the horse become their most valued possession, but among them, as elsewhere on the Northern Plains, it formed the chief medium of exchange. Everything—trade goods, bride price, ceremonial privilege, and often personal support—was acquired by the payment of horses. In most instances, the loss of capital was only temporary: medicine bundles, pipes, and society membership were actually investments[30] that could be resold, sometimes even at a profit, and distributions to maintain prestige were, in effect, convenient forms of credit. Expectancy is succinctly expressed in the oft-heard comment, "If a Blood gives a horse away one day,

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[21] *Idem.*
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[25] This is the term Wissler uses (See Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, Table of Contents, p. 363.)
[26] Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, *Travels in the Interior of North America in the years of 1832–1833 and 1834*, p. 255.
[27] *Idem.*
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 256.
[29] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. also p. 111, for a statement on their more favorable situation.
[30] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 277. Cf. also Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

454 he expects another in a week." In time of need loyal followers would quickly
431 rally to the aid of their "generous leader."[31]

Technical skill and bravery played an essential role both in hunting and
556 raiding, but a wealth differential that could not be said to depend entirely
231 on these virtues was early apparent. In 1808, Alexander Henry, the nephew,
175 wrote, "Some Blackfoot own 40 to 50 horses. But the Piegans have by far the greatest number. I heard of one man who had 300."[32] Two years later, he mentions "one young Piegan who complains of being lame and has no horse."[33] In 1832 Maximilian noted that a Piegan chief possessed between 4000 and 5000 horses.[34] At another point he writes, "There were fifteen to twenty horses grazing about the tent, but there are Blackfoot who possess a much greater number."[35] Bradley estimates that around the year 1830 the Piegans averaged ten horses to a lodge, the Blackfeet and Bloods, five.[36] Of the Blood chief, Seen from Afar, who died in 1870, he says, "He was the greatest chief Major Culbertson ever saw amongst the Blackfeet—having ten wives and 100 horses."[37] Charles Larpenteur, a fur trader, writing of the period around 1860 states, "It is a fine sight to see one of those big men among the Blackfeet, who has two or three lodges, five or six wives, twenty or thirty children, and fifty to one hundred horses."[38] Such famous headmen as Crowfoot boasted more than a hundred horses and "hired" poor young men to hunt and raid for them.[39] In the light of the combined evidence, the excessive figure given by Maximilian must be questioned, as has been done recently and effectively.[40] But the fact that marked wealth differences persisted throughout this period seems well substantiated.

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[31] Although occurring in 1893, i.e., in the Reserve period, the following is suggestive: Eagle Bear, a chief, lost thirty-five of his sixty horses in a blinding snowstorm. "His friends felt sorry for him and made him presents, for he always had been considered a generous man. In the end he had received more than he had lost."

[32] Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest. The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799–1814.* Vol. 2, p. 526.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 661.

[34] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[36] James H. Bradley, *Characteristics, Habits and Customs of the Blackfeet Indians*, p. 288.

[37] Bradley, *Affairs at Fort Benton*, p. 258.

[38] Charles Larpenteur, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, Vol. 2, p. 401.

[39] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 55 note, quoting Jane Richardson, Northern Blackfoot, Mss.

[114] [40] John C. Ewer, *Were the Blackfoot Rich in Horses?* p. 622 ff. It is however, more than possible that Maximilian's figure, though obviously exaggerated, may actually refer to band horses. Such an easy confusion is expressed even today. In 1939, the son of a chief stated that his father owned 1000 horses. Later he referred to these horses as "band" horses. While discussing the bad winter of 1893, he said, "My

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older." Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day." He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him. To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[87] These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine man was asked, "Who is *istuisanaps*? Who gets respect?" he answered, "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added, "a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard labor."[88] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect" in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in a distant past.[89] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought success.

CHILD STATUS AND WEALTH.—Children of the rich were set apart from

[87] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[88] Biele, Field Notes.

[89] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

but despite the unattractiveness of the wage, some of the ambitious still sought these jobs. Loyal service might be rewarded by a convenient marriage.

Although the poor man might raise his status by marrying the daughter of his rich employer, there were many times when he complained of continued exploitation after such a marriage. "Respect" did not always follow. Certain brave souls broke from the trying situation, but many knew that, if you were born poor, the ways and means of getting ahead fast were still few.

Squirrel Man, Yellow Wolf's poor son-in-law, stuck it out. His behavior bespeaks his frustrations. A year after marriage, the young groom brought his bride to her father's place. Here they were given a home of their own, "for Squirrel Man had nothing except what he got from his father-in-law for whom he worked from that time on." He sat in the Sun Lodge which his "chaste" wife put up, but it was her brother, Pointed Plume, who paid most of the expenses, made the large distributions at the give-away, and gained in prestige. Later, when Squirrel Man's sons wanted to farm, they had to borrow horses and wagons from their wealthy uncle. In time, "although he always acted like a brother to Pointed Plume," as one informant put it, the unhappy husband could tolerate his lot no longer. He feigned suicide when his wife persisted in visiting her brother; he flashed a mirror from the hill-top (a conventional invitation to assignation) in an attempt to bolster his ego and make his wife jealous—but in his case there was no eager mistress to answer it; he abandoned his wife and home, only to return meekly a short time later led by the agent; and as a final symbol of his castration, he hastily donned woman's clothes and hid when he was called by the court as a witness.[121]

Other young men preferred to work for the agency or white ranchers, for the money wages received from such employment offered a greater measure of independence. The poor young man no longer had to accept a patronizing handout from a rich relative; he no longer had to be a burden to a poor one. But despite the new opportunities, the economic advantage at marriage would still favor the sons of the rich. The poor young man might have secured some few cattle from a late issue; he might have bought a saddle horse for $100 and a fine saddle for $105; he might even have invested in a few horses, as indeed Ned Sloane did after years of working out. But all

[121] Here and in the case of the man who wanted to murder his wife because he believed she was sleeping with a ghost (see p. 51), abnormal behavior was laid to the eating of peyote. This is particularly interesting since peyote is rarely used by the Blackfoot. Squirrel Man got it from a visiting medicine man—one informant said he was a Crow, another an Osage—who put on a peyote cure for Mrs. Squirrel Man. The other secured the buttons while he was visiting the Crow.

556 this was as nothing compared with a Pointed Plume's equipment. "When I
184 was married in 1905," said he, "my father turned over his whole herd of
425 horses (about 100) to me. A few others had been given to me previously as gifts. My father told me that if I took care of the cattle I would get my share, and in 1916, he gave me twenty-five head . . . the next year my father gave me another twenty-five." It is not surprising that this favorite son was reluctant to leave his rich father and a secure and indulgent home for a few dollars in wages.

556 All in all, it was still the owners of the large herds who benefited most
184 from the growing cash income. They plowed back a considerable por-
[454] tion of it into better homes, better barns, better furnishings and better fences, as the Government urged them to do. Yet a goodly amount of cash was still available to them. This the inspector reported was "squandered in
[432] riotous living." Schooled in the old Blackfoot tradition of "generosity,"
[181] these Indians felt that added prestige could only accrue from conspicuous spending. The same group that had made fine payments for pipes, bundles, and memberships with their surplus horses, were now able to stage bigger and better feasts and give away valuable goods, such as cloth, blankets, shawls, in quantities unknown for many years.

431 Gifts flowed freely, but the circle within which they flowed remained, as
556 before, narrow and selected. The rich gave to the rich, to their close rela-
184 tives, or to those to whom they were under obligation for some past favor.
[585] For example: Yellow Wolf chose his son's best friend, the *miníipoka*, Buffalo Horn, to be the husband of his brother's daughter. Pointed Plume said, "At the time of the marriage, I gave Buffalo Horn his weasel tail suit and a bonnet for a present." And then he added, "Later Buffalo Horn gave me a similar outfit." To the goodly gift of ten horses contributed to the bride price by his brother, Yellow Wolf added another five. All went to the rich father of Buffalo Horn. When Pointed Plume married the favorite daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighter's Band, Yellow Wolf
[764] gave the already wealthy leader twenty-five horses. At a funeral feast given for Round Chief by his adopted son, Big Head and his nephew, Pointed Plume, the latter gave away two horses—one to Black Bear, his maternal uncle whom his father Yellow Wolf had superseded for the chieftaincy, the other to Split Arrow, the father of Dancing Bird who was his
[575] wife at this time. He said, "When Round Chief joined the Horn Society, he took me in as his partner. I was about fourteen at the time. This shows how close we were." It also shows why he participated so actively in the death feast.

431 Ned Sloane paid three horses as a bride price to his father-in-law, Charg-
556 ing Buffalo, who distributed them as follows: one horse was given to
585 Charging Buffalo's brother-in-law who had previously made a gift of a
425

106 represents cash received from wages, disability and veterans' pensions,
121 income from leased land, but does not include tribal corporate
177 dividents--per capita payments which vary annually in amount but are
184 the same for all tribal members.

[434] Where a man lives with relatives, all income may be pooled, so
[592] that one man making but $800 annually may be aided by his son's income
[434] of $1,500. Several, among those with low income, receive help from more wealthy relatives. Others, classed as ranchers, may be in a family partnership and receive a part of their subsistence, and perhaps rent-free housing, as well as a share of the family cash income from the ranch or farm products. This shared housing and subsistence are not included in the income figure.[166] The average income figure, then, is less of an index of subsistence base than it is of a broad range of economic success. Those with low incomes are poor, and the aid of others does not pull them out of this condition; such aid may make subsistence possible.

[453] Has Bank Account records the cases among the sample who have
[454] checking or savings accounts or have established credit at the local bank. Because this information is limited, in most cases to transactions with the local bank, it may fail to classify accurately one or two men. The over-all picture of limited use of bank facilities, however, is realistic and may be highly diagnostic of economic and cultural differences. The percentage of the sample reporting bank accounts and

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[166] One exception, No. 46, works for board and room and draws money from his employer only to meet other requirements. The income reported for this man is an estimate of the cash equivalent of board, room, and spending money.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

106 transactions is in close agreement with the tribal credit assessment
121 reported in Chapter III.
177 Use of Welfare, included as another economic index, will be
184 discussed at greater length in the analysis.
[453] Land Ownership and Land Use are included as indices of
[454] acculturation. The assumption is that the leasing of owned land to
[651] others, while lacking work oneself, is a least economical use of the
[423] land. There appears to be a tendency for the more acculturated
[427] individuals to make more use of their land. The previously mentioned complexities of land ownership and use may intervene here, and the information contained in these two columns will need further examination.

[342] Home Ownership, Lives with Relatives, Type of House, and
[592] Condition of House reflect many complex problems. But the ownership
[423] and maintenance of a home, along with single or joint family occupancy, can be used as indices of economic adjustment. As was mentioned earlier, the care and use of the home may be a more important index than is the house type.

[434] The inclusion of this information may also serve to qualify
[342] the reported income figures. A man who has reported a low income figure, but who owns a good house, probably has a better record of past earning than does the man with the low income and poor house.

[342] The ratings used are self-explanatory with the exception of those under Type of House. A dwelling consisting of one to three rooms in poor condition is classified as a shack; a similar sized residence in fair or good condition is called a cabin. A house is a dwelling of four or more rooms regardless of condition.

128 aspects, but is included here as it concerns an item of property. An
106 automobile is a major investment; its possession represents, at least,
[493] a past or projected earning capacity sufficient for ownership.
[454] Automobile ownership and condition are scaled:

Subject owns no automobile . . . . . 0 points
Subject owns an automobile, poor condition . . 1 points
Subject owns an automobile, fair condition . . 2 points
Subject owns an automobile, good condition . . 3 points

Partial support from family adds information that tends to decrease the economic ranking of subjects who are more dependent upon others for subsistence needs. Family support in the form of housing has already been considered, so was not included in this measurement. Two men, each reporting the same annual income figure, are not economically equal if one must support himself and his family entirely from this income, while the other derives considerable subsistence support from others. Car and home ownership rankings are also qualified by use of this family support information. The man who receives partial support from his family may be able to invest in a house or automobile, while the independent man might not. Similarly, the man who can own these things and remain self-supporting demonstrates the greater economic achievement. These differences are recognized and weighted for by this additional information. These are in part new
[434] data, present only by inference in Table 1. Partial support is ranked:
[592]

Considerable parental support . . . . . 0 points
Some support from parents or siblings . . . . . 1 points
Little or no support from parents but partial support from wife . . . . . 2 points
Complete economic independence . . . . . 3 points

Welfare aid adds another qualifier of the income figures. It depresses those among the low income group who find it necessary to

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

of as modal points along a continuum. All earn wages, but the propertyless individuals are those deriving the greatest fraction of their income from this source. All have aspiration levels, but the energetic earners may be inferred to have higher ones.

Exchange

The agency is the main artery for conversion of the reserve produce into cash. On the sale of a man's wheat his account is credited with the corresponding price. Similarly, when a steer is sold, the owner, determined by the animal's brand mark, is credited with the price received for the animal, less certain processing fees. Thus conversion of most reserve produce, whether it be horses or furs, passes through the agency.

The agency also converts various local vouchers into cash. Work slips, statements signed by a white staff member, entitle the bearer who has repaired a fence or worked two weeks on the roundup to a given sum of money. Merchandise orders are also given out to families caught short, so the white merchants come in for reimbursement. On the receipt of further cash these sums advanced will be deducted from the account of the Indian concerned, unless he is convalescent or in some other way unfitted for work.

The banking functions of the agency stop at this point. For example, beyond the advancing of credit in the form of merchandise orders, no credit is given. Loans are no longer made to individual Indians, nor does the agency directly finance with Indian funds individual undertakings. To be sure the agency purchases with trust funds farm machinery, stallions, and lumber for Indian undertakings, and for all practical purposes these may become the property of an individual. Yet things acquired in this way are not paid for by the individual and do not become his property in the sense that he is free to dispose of them.

There is an obvious scarcity of cash on the reserve despite these exchange mechanisms. The individual accounts at the agency have been many times quickly emptied after pay-day. So, to encourage saving, the agency discourages withdrawal of more than a fraction of the total money in an account at any single time. Perhaps introduced in part with the same intention is the agency practice of paying from the accounts only on certain days of the week. It is a notorious source of friction that an Indian may come many miles

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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to the agency to withdraw money from his account and be denied his full request by a paymaster who is interested in thrift. Complaints are common that there is money in the office, but it cannot be paid out until a future date. Our interpreters and informants frequently spent the day's earnings within a few minutes after payment had been made. But some Indians who worked for prolonged periods with us asked that they be paid in a lump sum at the end of the week to prevent their spending the fees immediately.

Accentuating the demand for cash is the fact that few Indians can buy at village stores on credit. Merchants maintain that they have in the past been forced to write hundreds of dollars of debts off their books because of the failure of Indians to pay their bills. Thus credit is issued only to the occasional Indian who has proved himself. Furthermore, whites generally acknowledge that two prices exist in many stores, one for whites and a slightly higher one for Indians. The practice is justified on the grounds that the storekeeper is recouping his previous losses.

The agency's interest in budgetary saving aggravates the demand for money. Less is paid for beef if it is bought on the reserve for rations than if purchased from commercial beef handlers. Horses and hay are purchased from the Indians at figures somewhat below the prevailing white prices. We have also mentioned that the wage scale on the reserve is lower than the wage scale for white labour. To be sure there are a few cases where the agency pays higher prices than the prevailing rate; it is possible, for example, to have coal hauled by truck to the agency at $1.50 per ton, yet the agent pays Indians $2.00 per ton to haul it in their wagons. In general, however, the agency pays less when dealing with Indians than when dealing with whites for the same service or commodity.

To obtain money at times of need Indians resort to two main expedients: sale of various articles, and seeking cash from certain relatives.

We have entered occasional Indian homes which have lacked almost all furnishings except for a bed, a few chairs, a table, and a stove. Only some of these houses belong to old people who wish little. Frequently ambitious young men have a history of poor luck in farming and report that their houses were once much better furnished; when times were hard, they were forced to sell their furniture piece by piece to get cash. The less valuable objects may be purchased by some family on the reserve. The remainder is sold to pawn

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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attempts by the chiefs to increase cash annuities and other direct issues from the trust fund have been resisted. For instance, more benefits are received via cash jobs than via annuities, a practice designed to contribute to reserve maintenance and help inculcate habits of industry. A correlate of this principle is the assumption that if Indians obtain control over the trust funds, they will spend them unwisely. The thought of an orgy where Indians spend in a few months the trust funds diligently accumulated over decades is an ominous ever-present spectre for the agency. The practice of enforced saving with respect to agency accounts has been introduced with some reference to this fear. Certainly the pressure groups and the council of chiefs represent a continuous threat to this principle; to handle them requires delicacy together with an occasional show of firmness.

The principle of seeking out the tribe's immediate tangible needs is important to the agency. Those measures of the council giving greater benefits to the aged and the infirm were quickly endorsed. The agent never hesitates to give grocery orders to a family in distress, providing they have not arrived there through negligence and indiscretion. The hospital was built with band funds despite council opposition. No questions are raised about expenses for medicines, and hospital food and shelter are readily granted to the old and young even when they are not sick.

Like all good administrators the agency seeks to maintain harmony. This must account for some of the latitude of interpretation of the Indian Act, as shown previously.[1] Besides, when not in conflict with other rulings, Blackfoot concepts of justice are used to settle conflict, and Blackfoot ways preserve intra-tribal harmony.

In the distant future Blackfoot will be able to assume full responsibility for their own destiny. But the interim presupposes a slow, painful, and discouraging process. That the agent has made attempts to give greater responsibility is proved by the extra latitude given to the council. Yet the agent described the following event:

> We had a project a few years ago of dividing the reserve and giving each chief responsibility for improvements in a particular area. The chiefs finally wanted to be relieved of this responsibility. Relatives and friends put on pressure for changes. The chiefs were unable to say no. They are not hard like the leaders of the past. . . .

[1] Cf. pp. 129, 136-137.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Blackfoot Reserve

a labourer or even an onlooker on an agency-managed grain-, cattle-, and coal-producing establishment. From a politically independent people the tribe has been reduced to a form of peonage.

A second factor has been the failure of the original farming venture, the success of which meant the difference between mere existence and an ample income. When the Indians originally adopted farming, it was regarded as a means for becoming wealthy. In the Blackfoot mind there is a definite association of wealth with power, for as we indicated, the chiefs in the past were necessarily wealthy persons. Through farming the prediction of Many Stars at the time of the treaty would be realized: "All will be chiefs." This was true in good years, when Indians could invite friends and relatives to their well-furnished homes for ostentatious give-aways. They could make trips to neighbouring reserves, there to continue the display of generosity. Best of all, they might invest in a sacred bundle as a further token of concrete achievement and as supernatural insurance against the vagaries of weather and fortune. This had always been the Blackfoot way of indicating change of status, as conditioned by years of experience with a plentiful buffalo supply and the risks of warfare that might reduce one's wealth to nothing overnight. If any followed the agency's counsel to save, a succession of poor or indifferent crops quickly consumed the backlog, and there was nothing to show for the effort.

These two factors, the assumption of economic and political management and the failure of reserve enterprises to produce a return commensurate with Indian expectations, have produced frustration of the needs for political and economic self-expression. Since the council of chiefs is an impotent body and since the last vestiges of political control were removed with the scattering of the Blackfoot onto familial farms, a political void has been created. In good times this arrangement produces no consequences, for there is opportunity for self-expression in a gratifying Blackfoot social life. Participation, however, is reduced by lean years. There results a system of devices which can only produce satisfaction in the rare times of abundance.

The question arises why in their dissatisfaction the Indians blame the agency. The system would run much more smoothly if Blackfoot themselves assumed the blame for failure and, as the white employees propose, work harder. It is necessary to realize first that the agency is regarded as the seat of the chief, and chiefs

[Fred Eagle Plume] drew the buffalo on it. They told me when the Sun Dance started they would go there and set it up. I started bringing my hay to Bald Head. I worked hard and saved up nine hundred dollars. Then word came that they had set up the tipi and that we should come to the Sun Dance Encampment. 778 432 [532] [454]

I got my money and bought the things for payments. The next day I went to camp. In the distance I could see the tipi. When I got there I moved right into it. The next day we went to get the horses I was going to give for payment. They were in the pasture of Camoose, my brother-in-law.

First we had to transfer the Buffalo Tipi to me. Calling Last painted me for the tipi transfer and led the ceremony. My relatives got out four eagle headdresses. My brother said, "You will get painted for these. They will be transferred to you." 778 432 796 [532] [342] [302]

The next morning Heavy Head and Speaks-in-the-Middle [Iron] came with some others to capture me. They took me to the tipi where the Bundle was transferred. On the way, we stopped four times; each time there was a headdress for the Owner.

When they finished transferring the Bundle we brought it home, and I asked Heavy Head if he would finish the ceremony in my lodge. So we had a dance with the Pipe. Then Heavy Head initiated me to step over a dog, so that I would be allowed to step over dogs from then on. They brought a dog over in front of our tipi. Somebody brought out a hot coal and placed it by the dog. Heavy Head made incense with sweet pine and held each of my feet over it four times. The fourth time he told me to step over the dog. He said, "Now you will not get hurt by touching a dog or by being around one." But he said that dogs must never come into a tipi or house where a Medicine Pipe is. That's the Old Way. 778 432 796 424 [784]

The next morning Heavy Head woke me up and gave me the right to get up. I was just like a

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TAPLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Average Income (dollars)	Has Bank Acct.	Wel-fare Used	Owns Land	Uses Land	Owns Home	Lives With Relatives	Type of House	Cond. of House	Lawn or Garden	Owns Auto	Cond. of Auto	
2	$3,000	X			X		X	house	exc.	X	X	good	[424]
3	2,250			X			X	shack	poor		X	poor	[454]
5	1,500						X	house	fair		X	fair	[453]
6	3,000	X			has	X-		trailer	good		X	good	[657]
7	3,000				X		X	house	good		X	good	[423]
9	800		X	X			X	house	fair				[421]
10	1,200		X	X		rents	w/him	shack	poor+				[342]
11	1,800						X	shack	poor		X	poor	[592]
13	1,000			X		rents		house	good	X	wife	fair	[423]
14	200		X			X		shack	poor		X	fair	[434]
17	2,000					fam.		shack	poor		X	poor	[342]
18	1,500			X			X	shack	poor				[342]
19	5,000	X		X	X	X		house	exc.	X	X	good	[351]
21	5,000	X		X	X	X		house	good		X	poor	[493]
25	3,000	X		X	X	X		house	fair		X	fair	184
26	600						X	cabin	fair				177
27	75		X			X	w/him	shack	poor				121
28	1,000		X				X	house	fair		X	fair	106
29	500						X	shack	poor		X	poor	
30	5,000					rents		apt.	exc.	X			
31	1,600				X	fam.		house	good		X	fair	
32	720		X	X		X		shack	poor				
34	2,500					X-		trailer	good		X	?	
35	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	good	X	X	good	
37	450		X				X	cabin	fair				
38	3,000			X		X		house	good	X	X	good	
39							X	cabin	fair				
42	1,200			X		X	w/him	house	good		X	good	
43					X	X		house	fair+		X	good	
44				X			w.empl.	house	fair				
45	25		X	X		X		shack	poor				

TAPLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Average Income (dollars)	Has Bank Acct.	Wel-fare Used	Owns Land	Uses Land	Owns Home	Lives With Relatives	Type of House	Cond. of House	Lawn or Garden	Owns Auto	Cond. of Auto
2	$3,000	X			X		X	house	exc.	X	X	good
3	2,250			X			X	shack	poor		X	poor
5	1,500						X	house	fair		X	fair
6	3,000	X			has	X-		trailer	good		X	good
7	3,000				X		X	house	good		X	good
9	800		X	X			X	house	fair			
10	1,200		X	X		rents	w/him	shack	poor+			
11	1,800						X	shack	poor		X	poor
13	1,000			X		rents		house	good	X	wife	fair
14	200		X			X		shack	poor		X	fair
17	2,000					fam.		shack	poor		X	poor
18	1,500			X			X	shack	poor			
19	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	exc.	X	X	good
21	5,000	X		X	X	X		house	good		X	poor
25	3,000	X		X	X	X		house	fair		X	fair
26	600						X	cabin	fair			
27	75		X			X	w/him	shack	poor			
28	1,800		X				X	house	fair		X	fair
29	500						X	shack	poor		X	poor
30	5,000					rents		apt.	exc.	X		
31	1,800				X	fam.		house	good		X	fair
32	720		X	X		X		shack	poor			
34	2,500					X-		trailer	good		X	?
35	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	good	X	X	good
37	450		X				X	cabin	fair			
38	3,000			X		X		house	good	X	X	good
42							X	cabin	fair			
42	1,200			X		X	w/him	house	good		X	good
43	4,000				X	X		house	fair+		X	good
46	3,000			X			w.empl.	house	fair			
47	[illegible]		X	X		X		shack	poor			

[424] [453] [651] [423] [427] [342] [592] [423] [434] [342] [342] [351] [493] 184 177 121 106

farmers may have made fewer dollars per acre, but their efforts were for a sort of family business that gave all involved a sense of pride and a tendency to respect money. Now that our People no longer operate their own all-around farms and ranches, there is little incentive for children to remain at home to help their parents, or for fathers and mothers to stay at home to work their land. There is, however, plenty of easily earned money at harvest time for those who have leased their land, and plenty of spare time to spend it in. Some families have used this cash bonus to increase their herds of livestock, to build new homes, or to provide their children with a future by paying for their schooling or giving them a start with a small herd of cattle. Unfortunately, others have spent the easy money on drinking sprees.

241 182 [592] 434 427 [454]

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